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Epitome

Of the Purpose, Plans and Methods of
the Carnegie Endowment for
International Peace

Abstract of the
Year Book
1919

WASHINGTON
The Carnegie Endowment for
International Peace
1919

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GIFT OF

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Received Oct 2. 1919.



HEADQUARTERS, CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 10

1919

Epitome

Of the Purpose, Plans and Methods of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**Abstract of the
Year Book
1919**

WASHINGTON

**The Carnegie Endowment for
International Peace**

1919

12 1919

RUMFORD PRESS, CONCORD

FOREWORD

The aim of this Epitome is to present to the public the origin, the organization, the purpose and the work of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in condensed form.

It is planned to make it an annual publication, which shall summarize the activities of each year in such abbreviated form that he who runs may read—not as a substitute for the annual Year Book of the Endowment, which presents all these matters in detail for students and librarians, but to meet the needs of the more casual inquirer and to spread more widely definite knowledge of the work of the Endowment, regarding which there is considerable lack of public and intelligent understanding. The Epitome is planned for wide circulation, outside and beyond the many libraries to which and individuals to whom the Year Book is regularly mailed. It is hoped that the pamphlet will familiarize the public with the work of the Endowment to a much wider degree.

It will be sent gratuitously to all applicants. Show it to your friends.

THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

FOUNDED 1910

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AUSTEN G. FOX

ANDREW J. MONTAGUE
HENRY S. PRITCHETT

CHARLEMAGNE TOWER

¹ Died May 29, 1919.

The Carnegie Endowment

FINANCE COMMITTEE

GEORGE W. PERKINS, *Chairman*

ROBERT A. FRANKS

SAMUEL MATHER

FORMER MEMBERS OF THE BOARD

JOHN L. CADWALADER, New York, died March 11, 1914

JOSEPH H. CHOATE, New York, *Vice President*, died May 14, 1917

CLEVELAND H. DODGE, New York, resigned April 7, 1919

CHARLES W. ELIOT, Massachusetts, resigned April 16, 1919

JOHN W. FOSTER, District of Columbia, died November 15, 1917

ALBERT K. SMILEY, New York, died December 2, 1912

ANDREW D. WHITE, New York, died November 4, 1918

LUKE E. WRIGHT, Tennessee, resigned April 13, 1918

The remainder of the organization and documentary material appears in the Appendix.

PURPOSE AND PLANS

Mr. Carnegie's letter (December 14, 1910, see page 25), establishing the Endowment for International Peace, "to hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization," declares that "lines of future action can not be wisely laid down. Many may have to be tried, and having full confidence in my Trustees I leave to them the widest discretion as to the measures and policy they shall from time to time adopt, only premising that the one end they shall keep unceasingly in view until it is attained, is the speedy abolition of international war between so-called civilized nations."

The Board of Trustees, in accepting this responsibility, gave anxious thought to projects to this end, ancient and modern, and developed a general plan of work, since consistently followed. In Article II of the Articles of Association the following purposes are laid down:

- (a) To promote a thorough and scientific investigation and study of the causes of war and of the practical methods to prevent and avoid it.
- (b) To aid in the development of international law, and a general agreement on the rules thereof, and the acceptance of the same among nations.
- (c) To diffuse information, and to educate public opinion regarding the causes, nature, and effects of war, and means for its prevention and avoidance.
- (d) To establish a better understanding of international rights and duties and a more perfect sense of international justice among the inhabitants of civilized countries.
- (e) To cultivate friendly feelings between the inhabitants of different countries, and to increase the knowledge and understanding of each other by the several nations.
- (f) To promote a general acceptance of peaceable methods in the settlement of international disputes.
- (g) To maintain, promote, and assist such establishments, organizations, associations, and agencies as shall be deemed necessary or useful in the accomplishment of the purposes of the corporation, or any of them.

These seven postulates were divided into three groups, and on March 9, 1911, the Executive Committee established three Divisions, each with a Director in charge as follows:

DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION.—To promote

The Carnegie Endowment

the objects and purposes specified in (c), (e) and (g). Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, while unable permanently to accept the Directorship of this Division, consented to act temporarily, and has since continued as Acting Director.

DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY.—To which was assigned section (a). Dr. John Bates Clark, Professor of Political Science in Columbia University, was appointed Director.

DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.—Dr. James Brown Scott was appointed Director, and discharges the duties of this office in connection with those of the Secretary. The sections assigned to this Division by the Executive Committee were (b), (d) and (f).

The activities of the Endowment are international in scope, chiefly scientific and educational in character, the plan being that the scientific results of the work of the Divisions of Economics and History and International Law will be popularized and made the basis of propaganda by the first Division, in addition to work undertaken upon its own initiative.

ATTITUDE OF THE ENDOWMENT ON THE WAR AND ITS SERVICES TO THE GOVERNMENT

The entrance of the United States into the European War made it evident that a large part of the earlier activities of the Endowment must be ineffective until the restoration of peace.

The hope of the world for permanent international peace was concentrated first upon the prevention of German domination. It became evident to the point of demonstration that German domination could be prevented only by force of arms. The Endowment has endeavored to contribute what it could by taking a clear and definite position in favor of the active and relentless prosecution of the war to final victory.

The resolutions of the Board of Trustees and of the Executive Committee were as follows:

Resolution of the Board of Trustees Adopted April 19, 1917

RESOLVED, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled for their annual meeting, declare hereby their belief that the

most effective means of promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States.

Resolution of the Executive Committee Adopted November 1, 1917

The Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled in annual meeting at Washington, D. C., on April 19-20 last, adopted the following resolution by unanimous vote:

RESOLVED, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled for their annual meeting, declare hereby their belief that the most effective means of promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States.

In view of recent events, emphasized by the widespread intrigues of the German Government to deceive and mislead the peace-loving people of the world, the Executive Committee of the Endowment unanimously reaffirms this declaration and pledges the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to the loyal support of those courses of action that will assure early, complete and final victory for the arms of the Allied forces. The path to durable international peace on which the liberty-loving nations of the world would so gladly enter, is now blocked by the blind reliance of Germany upon the invincibility of German military power and upon its effectiveness as an instrument of international policy. This reliance must be broken before any other effective steps can be taken to secure international peace. It can be broken only by defeat.

The Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment call upon all lovers of peace to assist in every possible way in the effective prosecution of the war which has peace and not conquest for its aim.

The officers of the Endowment have considered that the best service the Division of International Law could render to the cause of international peace was by contributing so far as possible to adequate preparation for the great emergency which arose at the close of the war. It has accordingly sought to help bring about adequate preparation in two ways.

In the first place, it has published or contributed to the publication of a series of works which furnish the same kind of foundation for effective consideration of the questions which arise in a peace conference that Madison's Notes and Elliot's Debates, and the earlier history of the development of consti-

tutional law in the United States furnish for the consideration of interstate questions in America.

The other method of contributing to this preparation was through active cooperation with the officers of the government, whose official positions threw upon them responsibility for the representation of the United States in the Peace Conference. At the meeting of April 19, 1917, the Board of Trustees adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace offers to the government the services of its Division of International Law, its personnel and equipment, for dealing with the pressure of international business incident to the war.

This offer of the Endowment was accepted by Secretary of State Lansing on April 26, 1917, and accordingly the Division has been engaged since that time almost entirely on projects for the Department of State. Ample provision was made by the Executive Committee for the increased expenditures made necessary on this account, and the personnel of the Secretary's office, as well as of the Division of International Law, was largely increased.

A great volume of material has thus been collected, both in printed and manuscript form, and shipped to France for the use of the Peace Conference. That the Administration recognized the value of these services, was shown by its appointment of Dr. Scott, the Secretary, and the Director of the Division of International Law, as the Technical Adviser to the American representatives at the Peace Conference, together with four of the expert assistants in the Division.

THE ADMINISTRATION

The administrative work of the Endowment is under the supervision of the Secretary, James Brown Scott, aided by the Assistant Secretary and Statistician, S. N. D. North, and the Assistant to the Secretary, George A. Finch. The personnel of the office consists of a chief clerk, auditor, translator and librarian, assisted by the necessary clerical force.

OFFICES

The headquarters of the Endowment are located at Nos. 2, 4, and 6 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. The three buildings were private dwellings purchased at intervals and since connected. They include a frontage of 106.9 feet on Pennsylvania Avenue, and 83 feet on Jackson Place, with a total area of 8,856 square feet. The property fronts the White House and the State, War and Navy Building on Pennsylvania Avenue, and is the most desirably located property in Washington, outside of that owned by the government. The use of the building No. 6 was donated to the Government Committee on Public Information during the continuance of the war.

COOPERATIVE ANNUITY PLAN

As a recognition of efficient service, and to secure permanency, the Endowment has under consideration a cooperative arrangement with the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America organized by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, under which its officers and employes will have the privilege of obtaining annuities and life insurance at cost, free from all overhead charges of every kind. Under this plan they can obtain annuities, half the cost of which is paid by the Endowment, the other half by the employe at the rate of 5 per cent of his monthly salary.

THE LIBRARY

The library, with which is combined the general information bureau, is one of the most important auxiliaries of the Secretary's office. It is one of the most complete libraries in Washington on international law, the peace movement, and the literature of the recent war. The public is freely accorded its use, and it has a constantly increasing patronage of private and official students. It contains some 16,500 titles, properly catalogued and shelved.

The Carnegie Endowment

EXPENDITURES AND ACCOUNTS

The following table shows the expenditures of the Endowment by fiscal years and by Divisions, since its foundation in 1911:

Fiscal Year	Secretary's Office and General Administration	Division of Intercourse and Education	Division of Economics and History	Division of International Law	Purchase of headquarters buildings and sites	Total
1911.....	\$32,436.16	\$66,981.05	\$12,661.78	\$1,972.53	.....	\$114,051.52
1912.....	25,633.99	145,475.31	18,466.20	7,844.71	.....	197,420.21
1913.....	51,385.53	220,182.79	44,449.88	50,061.36	\$54,475.00	420,554.56
1914.....	55,363.18	253,714.69	71,064.59	82,909.03	82,525.00	545,576.49
1915.....	76,182.28	254,348.46	47,845.82	63,436.82	.....	441,813.38
1916.....	56,444.26	301,183.30	82,251.07	110,716.90	.....	550,595.53
1917.....	60,817.65	230,123.38	40,456.55	143,524.99	47,000.00	521,922.57
1918.....	69,611.74	241,071.10	53,884.34	85,577.70	.....	449,144.88
Totals.....	\$427,874.79	\$1,713,060.08	\$370,080.23	\$546,044.04	\$184,000.00	\$3,241,079.14

The receipt and distribution of funds are shown in detail each month in the printed reports of the Treasurer. All expenditures by the Endowment, both in the United States and foreign countries, are made through the Secretary's office, where the vouchers and checks for the signature of the Treasurer are prepared.

PUBLICATIONS

The Secretary's office publishes a quarterly List of Publications of the Endowment. This list already numbers 123 titles, including books and pamphlets. As indicative of the amount of propaganda represented in these publications, it may be stated that they total 25,286 printed pages; the grand total number of pages printed by the Endowment is approximately 48,185,199 pages. The work of editing these publications for the printer and proofreading and publishing them is a large and steadily increasing duty of the Secretary's office.

An examination of this list of publications will convey to the reader a definite conception of the importance of many of them, and of their immediate and vital bearing upon the problems which have arisen in connection with the just settlement of the greatest war in the world's history. The list of publications appears at

the end of this pamphlet. All of the pamphlet publications of the Endowment are issued for gratuitous circulation. Wherever a price is indicated, the publications may be obtained by remittance to the publishers, either the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England, or the Oxford University Press, American Branch, 35 West 32d Street, New York City.

TRANSLATION

Translation from French, Spanish, German, Italian, and other European languages forms one of the most important branches of the work of the Secretary's office, by reason of the polyglot sources from which it procures the materials for its publications.

DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES

The publications of the Endowment are of two classes: those which are distributed gratuitously, by far the greater portion, and those which by reason of their highly technical and scientific character, and the restricted demand, are sold for a price by the Endowment's publishers. In order to make the latter freely available for general use, the Endowment has established a chain of 693 depository libraries, of which 379 are located in the United States and 314 in foreign countries. No libraries are admitted to this free distribution which do not agree carefully to shelve and catalogue these publications, and make them freely accessible to all applicants.

DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

The Division of Intercourse and Education, in addition to the service above outlined, has done most important work in the broad fields assigned it. To diffuse information, to educate public opinion, to cultivate friendly feelings between the inhabitants of different countries, and to increase the knowledge and understanding of each other by the several nations, it has prepared and widely circulated some sixteen reports of great value, such as Dr. Charles W. Eliot's, *Some Roads Towards Peace*, a report of his

visit made to China and Japan in 1912; the *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars*, published with maps and illustrations in 1914; the Report of Honorable Robert Bacon of his journey to South America in 1913, entitled *For Better Relations with Our Latin American Neighbors* (also printed in the original Spanish, Portuguese and French); and the complete record of the reception in the United States in 1917 of the Imperial Japanese Mission headed by Viscount Ishii.

EUROPEAN BUREAU

The Division maintains a European Bureau at No. 24 rue Pierre Curie, Paris, presided over by Senator d'Estournelles de Constant, and has an organized corps of special correspondents in various European capitals and in Tokio, with whose members it is in constant communication.

The educational work of the Division directly and in cooperation with the other Divisions is of the utmost importance. As an illustration, at the Second Pan American Scientific Congress held in Washington, December 27, 1915-January 8, 1916, besides the official delegates appointed by the governments of the twenty-one American Republics, one delegate from each Republic was invited to attend the Conference by each of the three Divisions. They were the guests of the Endowment from the date of their departure until their return to their homes. These delegates contributed very greatly to the success of the Congress, and incidentally gave the Endowment a prestige in Latin America it would have been difficult otherwise to obtain.

Plans have been made for the exchange of professorships between South American and North American universities, and are under consideration for the exchange of a limited number of students. In 1916, the Division sent to the *Museo Social Argentino* at Buenos Aires a gift of a library of some 9,000 books, pamphlets and maps, especially selected as typical of the political and intellectual life of the United States. The gift was profoundly appreciated, and plans are now making for sending similar libraries to other South American capitals, to several European capitals,

and to Tokio and Peking. It has established and is publishing in alternate months and alternately in Spanish and English, a periodical entitled *Inter-America*, for the purpose of overcoming in part the barrier of language which hinders the exchange of contemporary thought. It has established a series of volumes containing authoritative material relating to war and peace, for use by authors, publishers and teachers. These books are used widely in both public and private schools. It has established a chain of international polity clubs, and provided lecturers for them, and courses in the nonpartisan study of international problems with particular reference to American foreign policy. It has cooperated with seventy-nine universities, colleges and State normal schools in offering in their summer sessions courses to stimulate a more intelligent interest in international affairs. This summary presents only a partial view of the enormous amount and variety of the educational work of the Division.

DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

The work of the Division of Economics and History was organized at a conference held in Bern, Switzerland, in August, 1911, under the direction of Dr. John Bates Clark, which was attended by a number of the most distinguished economists and publicists of the European countries, together with representatives from Japan and the United States. Many of these economists were subsequently organized into the Committee of Research, which constitutes the permanent organization of the Division.

This conference, resolved into three commissions, outlined a complete program "to promote a thorough and scientific investigation and study of the causes of war, and of the practical methods to prevent and avoid it." Each member of the Committee of Research assumed editorial responsibility for groups of topics outlined by the three commissions, and contracts were made with about 200 contributors and collaborators, to whom were assigned subjects upon the three programs. Many of these studies were completed during the two following years, and nine volumes have been published by the Division.

An important group of studies, made by recognized authorities on the question of armaments, covering the military situation in a large number of countries, was completed and was ready for publication when the European War broke out. It was deemed unwise by the Executive Committee to publish at the time this volume, which when revised and issued will show the status of armament at the outbreak of the war and afterwards. A number of other manuscripts were completed and received by the Director, and have been held, awaiting a more opportune time for publication. One large series consisting of fourteen monographs contains a complete history of the Socialist movement in as many countries. Most of these contributions were in foreign languages, and their translation has been partially made, but publication has been postponed for reasons similar to those above given. Thus the European War has seriously interfered with the work of the Division. In the meanwhile, it has organized a commission of distinguished Japanese publicists to make similar economic studies in China and Japan, and this work is rapidly approaching completion.

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE WAR

An important undertaking is a plan for the compilation and publication of an Economic History of the War. The collection of original material for this history by members of the Committee of Research, in important belligerent countries, has been in progress since the war began; a mass of printed and other matter, which probably can never be duplicated, has been assembled, and plans are now in the making for preparation of the history itself.

PRELIMINARY ECONOMIC STUDIES OF THE WAR

In the meanwhile, the Division is publishing, under the direction of Dean David Kinley of the University of Illinois, a series of Preliminary Economic Studies of the War, written by well known economists and publicists of the United States. Arrangements have been made for twenty-five of these studies, fifteen of which have already been published, and the list will be further enlarged. The demand for these monographs has been unex-

pectedly large, demonstrating that, notwithstanding their necessarily tentative character, they are serving a useful purpose.

DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

International cooperation and agreement are indispensable in any scheme for the development and acceptance of the principles of international law. The plan of work of this Division of the Endowment was, therefore, not definitely decided upon until after the Director had consulted with and obtained the advice of the *Institut de Droit International*, among whose members may be found the most distinguished living authorities in the science. At the session of the *Institut* held at Christiania in August, 1912, it formally accepted the title and functions of general adviser to the Division of International Law, which had been offered to it by the Trustees of the Endowment, and elected eleven of the leading European international jurists, publicists, statesmen and diplomats to act as a special consultative committee, in matters of general policy for the Division. From this eminent consulting body, much valuable advice as to the plan and scope of its activities was obtained, prior to the outbreak of the European War.

The largest part and what may be called the regular routine work of the Division consists in the collection of materials for the compilation, editing and publication, in pamphlet and volume form, of international conventions, treatises, judicial decisions, and documents explaining and interpreting international law, or which may be regarded as epochal in the development of its principles, many of which are little known or not readily accessible, but whose general circulation will promote the objects for which the Division was established.

The pamphlet series now numbers over thirty and the volumes over thirty. They include volumes on the Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907, printed in both pamphlet and volume form, and in several languages, the decisions of the Hague Tribunals of Arbitration, and other authoritative documents setting forth the work and achievements of the Hague Peace Conferences and books on the *Declaration of London*, *The*

Establishment of an International Court of Justice, Treaties for the Advancement of Peace, Diplomatic Documents relating to the Outbreak of the European War, etc. A large number of additional pamphlets and volumes are in press or in preparation, among which may be mentioned an English translation of the complete proceedings of the two Hague Conferences, and the following special series:

(a) The Classics of International Law, begun in 1906 by the Carnegie Institution, but transferred on January 1, 1917, to the Division of International Law, being a reproduction of classic works connected with the history and development of international law, which has been undertaken on account of the difficulty of procuring the texts in convenient form for scientific study.

(b) The *Bibliothèque Internationale du Droit des Gens*, a collection of important treatises on international law, originally published in languages not universally used and now translated and published by the Endowment in French, the diplomatic language of the world, so as to make their contents more generally accessible.

(c) A collection of all known international arbitrations, under the supervision of Professor John Bassett Moore, which has been in progress since 1912, and which it is estimated will eventually require twenty-five volumes.

(d) A collection of decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, in controversies between States, accompanied by an essay by the Director on the practice and procedure of the Supreme Court in such matters, and a fourth volume in the series containing a study of the United States as an example of international organization.

(e) Several collections on Latin American relations, including arbitration treaties, the Monroe Doctrine, and a documentary diplomatic history of the emancipation of the Latin American countries.

Besides the work done in the Division itself, it has undertaken as a part of its regular activities to encourage, support and maintain other institutions engaged in promoting the same or similar objects. This aid has been extended: (a) By granting annual

subventions to international organizations, such as the *Institut de Droit International*, the *Société de Législation Comparée*, the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, and the Grotius Society of London. In this connection, the part played by the Division, in the creation and maintenance of the American Institute of International Law, deserves special mention. Through the initiative of the Division, national societies of international law have been organized in every American country, and a central body, composed of representatives chosen from these societies, has been established under the name of the American Institute of International Law, which has received the financial support of the Endowment toward the expenses of its meetings and the issuance of its publications, notable among which is its Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations (see page 21), adopted at its inaugural session held at Washington in 1916 under the auspices of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress. (b) By contributing toward the expenses of publishing the several well known European journals of international law and the Japanese journal which, on account of their scientific character and consequently limited circulation, had heretofore been published at a personal loss to the editors. (c) By making it possible for individual authors to secure the publication of meritorious works on international law which, because of their technical nature, are not attractive as commercial ventures. This aid has taken the form of a guaranty by the Endowment of the expenses of publication, and through this means, a number of valuable contributions to the science have made their appearance which it is believed would otherwise have remained unknown.

ACADEMY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

One of the first undertakings of the Division was to promote the establishment of an Academy of International Law at The Hague with a teaching and student body representative of all the leading nations of the world. This unique project has thus far failed of realization; two months before the date set for the

opening of the academy the outbreak of the European War necessitated its indefinite postponement.

In 1911 the Division published an exhaustive report upon the teaching of international law, in the educational institutions of the United States. Three years later a conference of American teachers of international law was held under its auspices. This conference adopted a series of recommendations, designed to encourage the study and strengthen the teaching of international law, which the Division has been instrumental in putting into effect. The recommendations for the establishment of fellowships in international law to provide a corps of competent teachers in the subject, has been effected directly by the Division, which now awards such fellowships as an annual feature of its work.

The Division has, from time to time, brought eminent foreign international authorities to the United States, to deliver courses of lectures before its colleges and universities.

In addition to its regular work the Division, since the entry of the United States into the war, has devoted a great deal of its time and resources, pursuant to the offer of its services to the government by the Trustees,¹ to special work for the Department of State, with respect to the effect of the war on the principles and rules of international law, with respect to proposals which have been made for a world organization, and with respect to other technical and scientific questions incident to the great conflict. To enable the Division to prosecute this work in time for use at the Peace Conference the personnel was largely augmented and the ordinary funds of the Division increased by the addition of thirty thousand dollars.

¹ See *supra*, page 10.



BOARD ROOM OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS

The American Institute of International Law, at its first session, held in the City of Washington, on January 6, 1916, adopted the following six articles, to be known as its Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations. (See page 19.) It has been translated into many languages, and has received worldwide approval:

I. Every nation has the right to exist, and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the state to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending states.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other states, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other states.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, and all persons whether native or foreign found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international: national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

APPENDIX

ADMINISTRATION

Secretary, JAMES BROWN SCOTT
Assistant Secretary and Statistician, S. N. D. NORTH
Assistant to the Secretary, GEORGE A. FINCH
Office, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
Telephone, Main 3428. Cable, Interpax, Washington

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I

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Director, NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER
Assistant to the Director, HENRY S. HASKELL
Office, 407 West 117th Street, New York City
Telephone, 8644 Morningside. Cable, Interpax, New York

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¹ Died October 19, 1918.

for International Peace

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Office, 407 West 117th Street, New York City
Telephone, 8644 Morningside. *Cable*, Interpax, New York

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Office, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
Telephone, Main 3428. *Cable*, Interpax, Washington

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Office, 2 rue Lecourbe, Paris, France

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MR. CARNEGIE'S LETTER TO THE TRUSTEES

December 14, 1910.

GENTLEMEN: I hav transferd to you as Trustees of the Carnegie Peace Fund, Ten Million Dollars of Five Per Cent First Mortgage Bonds, the revenue of which is to be administerd by you to hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization. Altho we no longer eat our fellow men nor torture prisoners, nor sack cities killing their inhabitants, we still kill each other in war like barbarians. Only wild beasts are excusable for doing that in this, the twentieth century of the Christian era, for the crime of war is inherent, since it decides not in favor of the right, but always of the strong. The nation is criminal which refuses arbitration and drives its adversary to a tribunal which knows nothing of righteous judgment.

In order to giv effect to this gift, it will be suitable that the Trustees herein named shall form a corporation with lawful powers appropriate to the accomplishment of the purposes herein exprest and I authorize the conveyance of the fund to such a corporation.

The Trustees hav power to sell, invest, or reinvest all funds, either in the United States or in other countries, subject as respects investments in the United States to no more restriction than is imposed upon savings banks or insurance companies in the State of New York.

No personal liability will attach to Trustees for their action or nonaction as Trustees. They may act as a Board. They hav power to fill vacancies or to add to their number and to employ all officials and to fix their compensation whether members of the Board or not. Trustees shall be reimburst all expenses incurd in connection with their duties as Trustees, including traveling expenses attending meetings, including expenses of wife or dauter to each annual meeting. A majority of the Trustees may act for the whole. The President shall be granted such honoraria as the Trustees think proper and as he can be prevaild upon to accept.

Lines of future action can not be wisely laid down. Many may hav to be tried, and having full confidence in my Trustees I leav to them the widest discretion as to the measures and policy they shall from time to time adopt, only premising that the one end they shall keep unceasingly in view until it is attaind, is the speedy abolition of international war between so-cald civilized nations.

When civilized nations enter into such treaties as named, and war is discarded as disgraceful to civilized men, as personal war (duelling) and man selling and buying (slavery) hav been discarded within the wide boundaries of our English-speaking race, the Trustees will pleas then consider what is the next most degrading remaining evil or evils whose banishment—or what new elevating element or elements if introduced or fosterd, or both combined—would most advance the progress, elevation and happiness of man, and so on from century

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to century without end, my Trustees of each age shall determin how they can best aid man in his upward march to higher and higher stages of development unceasingly; for now we know that man was created, not with an instinct for his own degradation, but imbued with the desire and the power for improvement to which, perchance, there may be no limit short of perfection even here in this life upon erth.

Let my Trustees therefore ask themselves from time to time, from age to age, how they can best help man in his glorious ascent onward and upward and to this end devote this fund.

Thanking you for your cordial acceptance of this trust and your harty approval of its object, I am

Very gratefully yours,
ANDREW CARNEGIE.

Witness:

LOUISE WHITFIELD CARNEGIE.
MARGARET CARNEGIE.

RESOLUTIONS OF ACCEPTANCE

RESOLVED, That the Trust Fund, for the promotion of peace, specified in the instrument subscribed to and delivered this day by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, be and it is hereby accepted for the purposes prescribed by the donor.

RESOLVED, That in undertaking to hold and use, in trust, this munificent gift for the benefit of mankind, the Trustees are moved by a deep sense of the sincere and noble spirit of humanity which inspires the donor of the Fund. They feel that all thoughtful men and women should be grateful to him, and should be glad to aid, so far as lies within their power, towards the accomplishment of the much-to-be-desired end upon which he has fixed his hopes, and to which he desires to contribute. They are not unmindful of the delicacy and difficulty involved in dealing with so great a sum, for such a purpose, wisely and not mischievously, and in ways which shall be practical and effective. They accept the Trust in the belief that, although doubtless many mistakes may be made, great and permanent good can be accomplished.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. Pending the incorporation of the Trustees, the business of the Trust shall be conducted by the Trustees as an unincorporated association, and shall be managed and controlled by the Board of Trustees, which shall consist of twenty-eight members, who shall hold office continuously and not for a stated term.

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The name of the association shall be "Carnegie Endowment for International Peace."

SECTION 2. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees shall be filled by the Trustees, by ballot, by a vote of two-thirds of the Trustees present at a meeting. No person shall be elected, however, who shall not have been nominated, in writing, by some member of the Board of Trustees twenty days before an annual or special meeting. A list of the persons so nominated, with the names of the proposers, shall be mailed to each member of the Board of Trustees twenty days before a meeting, and no other nomination shall be considered except by the unanimous consent of the Trustees present.

SECTION 3. In case any Trustee shall fail to attend three successive annual meetings of the Board, he shall thereupon cease to be a Trustee.

SECTION 4. No Trustee shall receive any compensation for his services as such.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. The principal office of the association shall be in the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia. The annual meeting of the Board of Trustees shall be held on the third Friday of April in each year.

SECTION 2. Special meetings of the Board may be called by the Executive Committee at such place as the Committee shall determine, by notice served personally upon or mailed to the usual address of each Trustee, twenty days prior to the meeting, as the names and addresses of such Trustees appear upon the books of the association.

A special meeting of the Board on the second Friday of November in each year shall be called and held in accordance with the provisions of this section, for the transaction of such business as the Board shall determine upon, including any special appropriations that may be found necessary.

SECTION 3. Special meetings shall be called by the president in the same manner upon the written request of seven members of the Board.

SECTION 4. A majority of the Trustees shall constitute a quorum.

SECTION 5. Prescribes the order of business at the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE III

SECTION 1. The officers of the association shall be a president and a vice president, who shall be elected from the members of the Board by ballot annually. There shall also be a secretary elected from the members of the Board, who shall serve during the pleasure of the Board, and a treasurer, who may or may not be a member of the Board, who shall be elected by the Board and serve during the pleasure of the Board.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. The president shall be the presiding officer of the association and chairman, *ex officio*, of the Executive Committee. He shall preside at all

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meetings of the Board or the Executive Committee, and exercise the usual duties of a presiding officer. He shall have general supervision of all matters of administration and of all the affairs of the association.

SECTION 2. In the absence or disability of the president, his duties shall be performed by the vice president.

ARTICLE V

SECTION 1. The secretary shall be the chief administrative officer of the association and, subject to the authority of the Board and the Executive Committee, shall have immediate charge of the administration of its affairs and of the work undertaken by it or with its funds. He shall devote his entire time to the work of the association. He shall prepare and submit to the Board of Trustees and to the Executive Committee plans, suggestions and recommendations for the work of the association, shall carry on its correspondence, and generally supervise the work of the association. He shall sign and execute all instruments in the name of the association when authorized to do so by the Board of Trustees or by the Executive Committee or the Finance Committee. He shall countersign all cheques, orders, bills or drafts for the payment of money, and shall perform the usual duties of a secretary and such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Board or the Executive Committee.

SECTION 2. He shall be the legal custodian of all property of the association whose custody is not otherwise provided for. He shall submit to the Board of Trustees, at least thirty days before its annual meeting, a written report of the operations and business of the association for the preceding fiscal year, with such recommendations as he shall approve.

SECTION 3. He shall act, *ex officio*, as secretary of the Board of Trustees and of the Executive Committee, and shall have custody of the seal and affix the same when directed so to do by the Board, the Executive Committee or the Finance Committee.

SECTION 4. An assistant secretary may be appointed by the Executive Committee to perform the duties or exercise the powers of the secretary, or some part thereof.

ARTICLE VI

SECTION 1. The treasurer shall have the care and custody of all funds and property of the association as distinguished from the permanent invested funds and securities, and shall deposit the same in such bank, trust company or depository as the Board of Trustees or the Executive Committee shall designate, and shall, subject to the direction of the Board or the Executive Committee, disburse and dispose of the same, and shall perform the usual duties incident to the office of treasurer. He shall report to each meeting of the Executive Committee. He shall keep proper books of account of all moneys or disposition of property received and paid out on account of the association, and shall exhibit the same when required by the Executive Committee, the Finance Com-

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mittee or any officer of the association. He shall submit a report of the accounts and financial condition of the association, and of all moneys received or expended by him, at each annual meeting of the association. He may be required to give a bond for the faithful discharge of his duties, in such sum as the Executive Committee may require.

SECTION 2. An assistant treasurer may be appointed by the Executive Committee to perform the duties and exercise the powers, or some part thereof, of the treasurer. Such assistant treasurer may be either an individual or a corporation, who may in like manner be required to furnish a bond.

ARTICLE VII

SECTION 1. There shall be an Executive Committee, consisting of the president, the secretary, and five other Trustees elected by the Board by ballot for a term of three years who shall be eligible for reelection. The members first elected shall determine their respective terms by lot, two to serve three years, two to serve two years and one a single year. A member elected to fill a vacancy shall serve for the remainder of the term.

SECTION 2. The Executive Committee shall, subject to the authority of the Board, and when the Board is not in session, exercise all the powers of the Board in the management, direction and supervision of the business and the conduct of the affairs of the association. It may appoint advisory committees, or agents, with such powers and duties as it shall approve, and shall fix salaries of officers, agents and employees.

SECTION 3. The Executive Committee shall direct the manner in which the books and accounts of the association shall be kept, and shall cause to be examined from time to time the accounts and vouchers of the treasurer for moneys received and paid out by him. Such committee shall submit a written report to the Board at each meeting of the Board, and shall submit an annual report to the annual meeting of the Board.

SECTION 4. Whenever any vacancy shall occur in the Executive Committee or in the office of secretary or treasurer, or in any other office of the association by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy shall be filled by appointment by the Executive Committee until the next annual meeting of the Board of Trustees.

SECTION 5. A majority of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE VIII

SECTION 1. The Finance Committee shall consist of three Trustees to be elected by the Trustees by ballot annually.

SECTION 2. The Finance Committee shall have custody of the permanent invested funds and securities of the association and general charge of its investments, and shall care for, invest and dispose of the same subject to the directions of the Board of Trustees and of the Executive Committee. It shall con-

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sider and recommend to the Board from time to time such measures as in its opinion will promote the financial interests of the association, and shall make a report at each annual meeting of the Board.

Pending incorporation the title to the permanent invested funds and securities of the association, as well as the custody thereof, shall be vested in the Finance Committee in trust for the association.

ARTICLE IX

The terms of office of all officers and of all members of committees shall continue until their successors in each case are appointed.

ARTICLE X

SECTION 1. The fiscal year of the association shall commence on the first day of July in each year.

SECTION 2. The Executive Committee, at least one month prior to the annual meeting in each year, shall cause the accounts of the association to be audited by a skilled accountant, to be appointed by the president, and shall submit to the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees a full statement of the finances and work of the association, and shall mail to each member of the Board of Trustees a detailed estimate of expenses and requirements for appropriation for the ensuing fiscal year, thirty days before the annual meeting.

SECTION 3. The Board of Trustees at the annual meeting in each year shall make general appropriations for the ensuing fiscal year, and may make special appropriations from time to time.

SECTION 4. The securities of the association and other evidences of property shall be deposited under such safeguards as the Trustees or the Executive Committee shall designate; and the moneys of the association shall be deposited in such banks or depositories as may from time to time be designated by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE XI

These by-laws may be amended at any annual or special meeting of the Board of Trustees by a majority vote of the members present, provided written notice of the proposed amendment shall be personally served upon, or mailed to the usual address of, each member of the Board at least twenty days prior to such meeting.

ARTICLE XII

The Executive Committee is hereby empowered to accept, on behalf of the association, a charter of the tenor and form reported by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives to the House on the third day of February, 1911 [H. R. 32084, "To incorporate the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace"], and laid before the Trustees of this association on the ninth day of March, 1911, with such alterations and amendments thereto as

may be imposed by Congress and are not, in the judgment of the Executive Committee, inconsistent with the effective prosecution of the purposes of the association.

Upon the granting of such charter the property and business of the association shall be transferred to the corporation so formed and a meeting of the Trustees shall be called for the purpose of regulating and directing the further conduct of the business by the corporation.

The Carnegie Endowment

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Publications of the Secretary's Office

Year Books of the Endowment for 1911, 1912, 1913-1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918 and 1919.
Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie.

Publications of the Division of Intercourse and Education

- No. 1 Some Roads Towards Peace: A Report on Observations Made in China and Japan in 1912. By Dr. Charles W. Eliot. vi+88 p. 1914.
- No. 2 [†] German International Progress in 1913. By Professor Dr. Wilhelm Passkowsky. iii+11 p. 1914.
- No. 3 Educational Exchange with Japan. By Dr. Hamilton W. Mabie. 8 p. 1914.
- No. 4 [†] Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars. ix+418 p., illus., maps. 1914.
- No. 5 [†] Intellectual and Cultural Relations Between the United States and the Other Republics of America. By Dr. Harry Erwin Bard. iv+35 p. 1914.
- No. 6 [†] Growth of Internationalism in Japan. By T. Miyaoka. iii+15 p. 1915.
- No. 7 [†] For Better Relations with our Latin American Neighbors: A Journey to South America. [English Edition.] By Robert Bacon. viii+186 p. 1915.
- No. 8 [†] The Same, in the Original Spanish, Portuguese and French. viii+221 p. 1915. A second edition of Mr. Bacon's report, containing Nos. 7 and 8 in one volume, has also been published, copies of which are still available.
- No. 9 Former Senator Burton's Trip to South America. By Otto Schoenrich. iii+40 p. 1915.
- No. 10 [†] Problems About War for Classes in Arithmetic. By David Eugene Smith, Ph.D., LL.D. 23 p. 1915.
- No. 11 [†] Hygiene and War; Suggestions for Makers of Textbooks and for Use in Schools. By George Ellis Jones, Ph.D. 207 p. 1917.
- No. 12 Russia, the Revolution and the War. An Account of a Visit to Petrograd and Helsingfors in March, 1917. By Dr. Christian L. Lange, Secretary General of the Interparliamentary Union. 26 p. 1917.
- No. 13 Greetings to the New Russia. Addresses at a meeting held at the Hudson Theater, New York, April 23, 1917, under the auspices of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. 14 p. 1917.
- No. 14 South American Opinions of the War: I. Chile and the War, by Carlos Silva Vildósola; II. The Attitude of Ecuador. By Nicolás F. López. Translated from the Spanish by Peter H. Goldsmith. 27 p. 1917.
- No. 15 The Imperial Japanese Mission, 1917. A record of the reception throughout the United States of the Special Mission headed by Viscount Ishii, together with the text of the Lansing-Ishii agreement of 1917 on the status of Japan and the United States in China, and the text of the Root-Takahira understanding of 1908. Foreword by Elihu Root. 125 p. 1918.
- No. 16 Growth of Liberalism in Japan. Two addresses delivered by T. Miyaoka before the American Bar Association at Cleveland, Ohio, August 29, 1918, and before the Canadian Bar Association at Montreal, Canada, September 5, 1918. 24 p. 1918.

Publications of the Division of Economics and History

Nationalism and War in the Near East. By a Diplomatist. Edited by Lord Courtney of Penwith. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. xxvi+434 p. 1915. Price, in Great Britain, 12s. 6d.; in U. S., \$4.15.

[†] No longer available for distribution.

for International Peace

- The Industrial Development and Commercial Policies of the Three Scandinavian Countries.** By Povl Drachmann. Edited by Harald Westergaard, LL.D. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. 130 p. 1915. Price, in Great Britain, 4s. 6d.; in U. S., \$1.50.
- Losses of Life in Modern Wars: Austria-Hungary; France.** By Gaston Bodart, LL.D. **Military Selection and Race Deterioration.** By Vernon Lyman Kellogg. Edited by Harald Westergaard, LL.D. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. x+207+6 p. 1916. Price, in Great Britain, 6s.; in U. S., \$2.00.
- Economic Protectionism.** By Josef Grunzel. Edited by Eugen von Philippovich. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. xiii+357+6 p. 1916. Price, in Great Britain, 8s. 6d.; in U. S., \$2.90.
- Epidemics Resulting from Wars.** By Dr. Friedrich Prinsing. Edited by Harald Westergaard, LL.D. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. xii+340+6 p. 1916. Price, in Great Britain, 7s. 6d.; in U. S., \$2.50.
- The Colonial Tariff Policy of France.** By Arthur Girault. Edited by Charles Gide. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. x+305+6 p. 1916. Price, in Great Britain, 7s. 6d.; in U. S., \$2.50.
- The Five Republics of Central America.—Their Political and Economic Development and Their Relations with the United States.** By Dana G. Munro. Edited by David Kinley. Published by the Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, N. Y. xvi+332 p. 1918. Price, \$3.50.
- Federal Military Pensions in the United States.** By William H. Glasson. Edited by David Kinley. Published by the Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, N. Y. xii+305 p. 1918. Price, \$2.50.
- Fiscal Freedom of Canada and the Other British Dominions.** By Edward Porritt. Edited by David Kinley. Published by the Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, N. Y. In Press. Price to be announced.

PRELIMINARY ECONOMIC STUDIES OF THE WAR

(Cloth bound copies of these studies can be purchased from the Oxford University Press, American Branch, 35 West 32d Street, New York City, for \$1.00 each. Paper bound copies will be sent gratuitously upon application to the Secretary, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.)

- No. 1 **Early Economic Effects of the War upon Canada.** By Adam Shortt, formerly Commissioner of the Canadian Civil Service, now Chairman, Board of Historical Publications, Canada.
- No. 2 **Early Effects of the European War upon the Finance, Commerce and Industry of Chile.** By L. S. Rowe, Professor of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania.
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- No. 4 **Economic Effects of the War upon Women and Children in Great Britain.** By Irene Osgood Andrews, Assistant Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation.
- No. 5 **Direct Costs of the Present War.** By Ernest L. Bogart, Professor of Economics, University of Illinois.
- No. 6 **Effects of the War upon Insurance, with Special Reference to the Substitution of Insurance for Pensions.** By William F. Gephart, Professor of Economics, Washington University, St. Louis.
- No. 7 **The Financial History of Great Britain, 1914-1918.** By Frank L. McVey, President, University of Kentucky.
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- No. 16 **Effects of the War upon Negro Labor and Migration in the United States.** By Emmett J. Scott, Secretary, Tuskegee Institute.
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- No. 23 **Monetary Conditions in War Times in India, Mexico and the Philippines.** By E. W. Kemmerer, Professor of Economics and Finance, Princeton University.
- No. 24 **Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War.** By Ernest L. Bogart, Professor of Economics, University of Illinois. (Revised edition of Study No. 5.)
- No. 25 **Government War Contracts.** By John F. Crowell, Consulting Economist, New York City.

Publications of the Division of International Law

- The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907.** Third ed. Edited by James Brown Scott, Director. xxiii+303 p. 1918. Price, in Great Britain, 6s.; in U. S., \$2.00.
French edition. xxxii+318 p. 1918. Price, \$2.00.
Spanish edition. xxxv+301 p. 1916. Price, \$2.00.
- The Freedom of the Seas.** A dissertation by Hugo Grotius. Translated with a revision of the Latin text of 1633, by Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Ph.D. Edited by James Brown Scott, Director. (Parallel pages.) xv+83 p. 1916. Price, \$2.00.
- Instructions to the American Delegates to the Hague Peace Conferences and Their Official Reports.** Edited by James Brown Scott, Director. v+138 p. 1916. Price, \$1.50.
French edition in press. Price to be announced.
- The Status of the International Court of Justice.** With an appendix of addresses and official documents. By James Brown Scott, Director. v+93 p. 1916. Price, \$1.50.
- An International Court of Justice.** By James Brown Scott, Director. ix+108 p. 1916. Price, \$1.50.

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- Une Cour de Justice Internationale.** Par James Brown Scott, Directeur. (French edition of An International Court of Justice and The Status of the International Court of Justice, in combination.) vi+269 p. 1918. Price, \$2.50.
- Recommendations on International Law and Official Commentary Thereon of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress Held in Washington, December 27, 1915-January 8, 1916.** Edited by James Brown Scott, Director. vii+53 p. 1916. Price, \$1.00.
- An Essay on a Congress of Nations for the Adjustment of International Disputes without Resort to Arms.** By William Ladd. Reprinted from the original edition of 1840, with an introduction by James Brown Scott, Director. xviii+162 p. 1916. Price, \$2.00.
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Pamphlet No. 23.) xi+480 p. 1919.

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- Ayala, Balthazar:** *De Jure et Officiis Bellicis et Disciplina Militari.* Edited by John Westlake,
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1. Collotype of the Bologna Manuscript of 1393, with extended and revised text of same, introduction, list of authorities cited, etc., by Sir Thomas E. Holland, together with photograph of Legnano's Tomb.
 2. A translation of the text, by J. L. Brierly.
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- Rachel, Samuel:** *De Jure Naturae et Gentium Dissertationes*. Edited by Ludwig von Bar. 2 vols. 1916. Price, \$4.00. [No. 5 of the series.]
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 4. A photographic reproduction of Simon's Edition (1696).
- Zouche, Richard:** *Juris et Judicii Facialis, sive, Juris inter Gentes, et Quaestionum de Eodem Explicatio*. Edited by Sir Thomas E. Holland. 2 vols. 1916. Price, \$4.00. [No. 1 of the series.]
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The Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations of the American Institute of International Law. Address of Elihu Root, President of the American Society of International Law, at its Tenth Annual Meeting, April 27, 1916, Washington, D. C. 10 p. In English, French, Spanish and Portuguese.

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